Ephemeral
Elections

SPEECH

OF

GOV. D. S. WALKER,

IN THE QUINCY CONVENTION.

On the 8th day of June, 1876, in the Conservative and Democratic State Convention at Quincy, Florida, Mr. Swearengen, of Wakulla, rose and said: "Mr. President, though we have been in session a day and a half, I have not yet heard the voice of ex-Governor David S. Walker. I move that he be requested to address the Convention."

The motion was unanimously carried, amidst great demonstrations of applause and thereupon Governor Walker rose and spoke in substance, as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND
GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:

I cannot refuse to comply with your unanimous request, so cordially and enthusiastically expressed.

The committee on resolutions have just reported a resolution charging the Republican party with maladministration of our State Government during the past eight years. That charge is well founded, and I will state some of my reasons for saying so.

The first reason which at present occurs to me is the part which the Republican party, through Governor Stearns, has recently taken in trying to fasten upon the people of this State a liability to be taxed to pay four millions of State bonds which the Republican Governor Reed, in the year 1870, illegally issued to the Republican, M. S. Littlefield. Governor Stearns knew that his own Attorney-General, Judge Cocke, had given it as his opinion that said bonds were illegally issued and are void. Governor Stearns knew that the Assembly of this State, while he himself was Speaker, had unanimously impeached Governor Reed for illegally issuing those bonds. Governor Stearns knew that Littlefield had wasted every dollar of those bonds, and had not built one foot of railroad nor applied one dollar to any honest purpose. Governor Stearns knew that if the people of this State should be held liable to pay those bonds, it would crush them down into a condition of hopeless insolvency. Under these circumstances it was the plain duty of Governor Stearns, as the protector of the people, to have stood by the opinion of his own Attorney-General and the unanimous vote of his own Assembly. If any one attempted in any court to establish the legality of those bonds, Governor Stearns ought at least to have given his State a chance to defend herself by informing the court that the Assembly of his State had pronounced those bonds void, and by requesting the court to permit the Attorney-General of the State to be heard on the question of their legality, before placing so overwhelming a debt on the shoulders of her people.

But instead of pursuing this plain path which his duty and the honor and interests of his State marked out for him, we find Governor Stearns moving in exactly the opposite direction. We find him rushing uninvited and in hot haste into the Supreme Court of the United States, and in defiance of his Attorney-General, asserting in his bill in equity filed there, that said bonds had been legally issued, and that he never had any doubt of their legality. I have with me a copy of said bill, and to show you that I am not mis-

taken as to what he said, I will read to you certain portions of it. On pages sixteen and seventeen he uses the following words, to wit:

"Said defendants sometimes pretend that said State bonds exchanged as aforesaid with said company were fraudulently issued and are not valid, and that therefore the State of Florida has no lien on said railroad property, whereas in truth and in fact the present administration has never questioned the validity of said bonds, and have and do assume their validity" * * * "said defendants cannot raise any objections to the validity of said bonds" * * * "said bonds were legally issued and are unaffected by any fraud whatever."

You will naturally ask me what effect this conduct of Governor Stearns had upon the Supreme Court of the United States. I will tell you. The Supreme Court of the United States said that it would hold said bonds to be valid *until* the State courts of Florida should decide to the contrary. What did Governor Stearns do then? He endeavored to prevent the State courts from making any decision at all, and thus leave the provisional decree of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring the bonds valid, in full force. How did he endeavor to prevent the State courts from making a decision? He did it in this way: His attorney, Mr. Bisbee, went before Judge Archibald, in Jacksonville, and made oath in writing, which is on file there, that the Supreme Court of the United States had made "a final decree" in Holland's case, and Bisbee thereby induced Archibald to dismiss the case as to Holland, and then Bisbee took a certificate of the dismissal up to the Supreme Court of the State, at Tallahassee, and on that certificate moved the State Supreme Court to dismiss the case in that court also. If this motion had been granted, of course the opinion of the State Supreme Court declaring the bonds void would not have been pronounced, and the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring the bonds valid would have remained in force.

This is what Stearns and Bisbee wanted. But our State Supreme Court could not be made to believe that the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States was "a final decree." Judge Westcott, one of our Florida-raised boys, said it was plain from the face of the papers that the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States was not "a final decree," but was only to remain in force *until* the State courts should decide otherwise, and therefore he and the other Judges overruled Bisbee's motion to dismiss the case, and proceeded to declare said bonds unconstitutional, null and void. Thus did our Supreme Court lift the State of Florida by the hair of her head out of the "slough of despond," in spite of the efforts of Governor Stearns to keep her there.

Here is the language of the Supreme Court of the United States, to wit:

"The validity of these bonds is a delicate question, and one which it is eminently proper that the courts of Florida should determine. The Judges of the Supreme Court of that State, in answer to certain questions propounded by the Governor in accordance with a provision of the constitution, have given an official opinion which has generally been understood as favorable to the validity of the bonds. *Until* that court shall decide to the contrary, we prefer to take that view, and, regarding the bonds of the company as valid and binding, the right of the State as against the pretensions of Holland to control the possession and emoluments of the property cannot be doubtful. Should the State courts hereafter determine against the validity of those bonds, further consideration of the subject can be had."

And here is the language of the Supreme Court of Florida. Judge Westcott, in overruling Mr. Bisbee's motion to dismiss, said:

* * * "The Supreme Court of the United States has not finally passed upon the rights of appellant, Holland." * * * * "Upon the face of the opinion and decree it clearly appears that it *is not a final* decree." * * * * "It thus appears that the first ground alleged is *in point of fact untrue.*"

The leaders of the Republican party may renew their efforts to have the liability of this State fixed to pay those bonds. I do not know what interest they may have in those bonds, and all experience shows that when they have determined to accomplish any great wrong they are never discouraged at the first failure. Should they renew their attempt to fasten those bonds upon us, I tell them in advance that the Conservative and Democratic party, regarding the claims of our people superior to the claims of all holders of fraudulent bonds, whether at home or abroad, will resist all efforts to set aside the decision of our State Supreme Court, declaring those bonds void, no matter by whom made or from what quarter they may come.

Now, Gentlemen of the Convention, what do you think of a party whose representative, Stearns, has endeavored, by all means, direct and indirect, to fasten upon the necks of the already impoverished people of this State, four millions of fraudulent bonds, which, with the interest thereon, is a sum equal to that which our government paid to Spain for a fee simple title to all the Floridas? Do you think that such a party and such a Governor ought to be continued in power by a re-election? No, gentlemen, I know you do not think so, and I want you to go back to your respective counties, and tell each man, woman and child in the State what I have told you to-day; and then if they permit this party to remain in power our poverty and our financial ruin for a hundred years to come must rest upon our heads and the heads of our children, for we have ample power to beat this wicked party if we will but exert it.

LEGAL ADVERTISING LAW.

Another objection to the Republican party is the course which their Governor Stearns has pursued in regard to the Radical law which compels you to publish all legal advertisements in such papers as the Republican Secretary of State and editor of the *Sentinel* may designate. This is the most evident badge of slavery that was ever imposed upon a conquered people. It compels the people to support newspapers which they do not want to support. It prevents competition among newspapers, and so enables the official newspapers to charge their own prices and have them paid in advance. It breaks down and starves out such papers as the people would like to support, and compels them to support papers which constantly abuse, misrepresent and villify them. It thus compels them to forge the very rods with which they, themselves, are to be scourged. It causes their property to be advertised alone in papers which do not reach the masses of the people, and their property, consequently, to be sacrificed at sheriffs' sales for prices almost nominal. This unjust and tyrannical Radical law, approved January 25, 1871, is so odious and so stinks in the nostrils of all honest men, that even a Republican Legislature has twice repealed it. Why, then, is it still a law? Because the first repealing law was *stolen*, and Governor Stearns *vetoed* the second one. Governor Stearns is said to own a large interest in one or more of the official papers, but surely a Governor ought not to allow his private interests to control his public conduct. No man who acts in this way is fit to be the ruler of a free people. The offices were not made for the benefit of the rulers, but only for the benefit of the people. The Governors are merely the servants of the people, appointed by them to carry out their will. This was the doctrine taught us by our ancestors in revolutionary days, but our rulers, in these days, have reversed the doctrine and always act upon the idea that the government was instituted solely for the use and personal benefit of the officers.—They must roll in wealth and fatten in iniquity, no matter how much the people suffer; and now and then, when one of the poor people tells them of their error, they tell him that he has "Constitution on the brain," or that he is "a Bourbon Democrat," or "an opposer of Republican government." I could spend a day in denouncing this odious law, for, "from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," but I must pass to other themes.

IMMIGRATION.

A third and very grave objection to the Republican party in this State is their hostility to immigration. The leaders of that party know that they keep themselves in office solely through the ignorance of the colored people. They know that the day of their destiny will be over and the star of their fate will decline so soon as a large number of intelligent white people from the North and West can be induced to make their homes among us; for they know that, no matter what a man's politics may be when he comes to Florida, he rarely votes the Radical ticket afterwards. Therefore, instead of telling the Northern and Western people the truth, that the great desire of our souls is to have them come and live with us on terms of perfect equality, these Radical leaders do all in their power to scare them away. To do this, they constantly waive the bloody-shirt in their faces and tell them falsehoods about our inhospitality, aristocracy and Bourbonism. In proof of this course by the Radical leaders, I will read to you a portion of "An Address," which their Republican State Executive Committee have recently published. On pages 9 and 10 of said address, you will find the following words, to-wit:

"Although slavery has been abolished, and a profitable cultivation of large plantations has thereby been rendered impossible, the Bourbon Democrat still cherishes the idea of vast landed estates, and is scheming to establish, on the ruins of slavery, a baronial system, under which he shall rule as lord of the manor, while 'the people,' a vulgar herd, composed of negroes, 'crackers' and mud-sills from the North, shall fill his coffers with wealth and do him homage as laborers, serfs and tenants. The Bourbon Democrat is opposed to free and intelligent immigrants, for he wants no interlopers to shame him by examples of honest labor or of generous patriotism. To him all strangers are enemies, all 'aliens' are obnoxious, and no new-comer from any quarter is welcome, unless he comes cringing and crawling to offer allegiance to the high-toned Bourbon to the manor born, and willing to think and talk and act as he shall direct. And the same narrow selfishness that actuates the individual Democrat inspires and controls the Democratic party, and makes it a hindrance and a curse to the State."

Gentlemen of the Convention, each one of you knows that the falsehoods I have just read from the Address of the State Executive Committee of the Republican party of Florida are as black as the devil who inspired them. Each one of you knows that, if we have any one feeling greater than all others, it is a desire that our brethren from the North and West may come and live with us in peace, fraternity and equality, enjoying all the rights, privileges and immunities that we, ourselves, enjoy; that we ask no questions concerning their race, religion or politics. You know that we are willing to divide our lands with them at the lowest possible prices; that, indeed, some of us are so anxious to have them that we divide our lands with them for no consideration at all, except that of the pleasure we expect to derive from their society. In proof of this, I refer to Col. Stephens, of Minneapolis. It is unnecessary for me to tell you that these statements of the Radical address are falsehoods. But you ask me, why were these falsehoods printed and sent forth over the United States? I will tell you. It was done to keep Northern and Western

people from coming to Florida, for these Radical leaders know that so soon as those people from the North and West shall shall get here, so soon will the reign of corrupt carpet-baggers in this State be over. They know that a Republican at the North is a very different man from the Republican at the South. Sad experience has proved to them that no matter how strong a Republican a man may have been at the North, yet, when he comes to Florida, he seldom votes the State Radical ticket. It is for this reason that our Florida Republicans don't want even Republicans from the North to come here, and it is to scare away all Northern and Western people that they publish such an Address as I have just read from. It is to keep them away from here that they tell them that they will be treated as a "vulgar herd," "crackers," "mud-sills from the North," "serfs," "interlopers," "strangers and enemies cringing and crawling." If I had made all my preparations to move to the country, and had my trunk packed, I would abandon the idea and seek a home elsewhere, upon being told that I was to receive such treatment. The hard-working, honest and high-toned Northern and Western people feel as I would do under such circumstances, for I am a Western man myself, and these Radicals know their feelings upon the subject, and, therefore, they have published this and similar addresses to prevent their coming.

Our Radicals seem to regard Florida as their peculiar prey, and they don't want any one to come here to divide it with them. They seem to regard the colored people as their individual property, and they don't want the Northern people to come here and put the notion in their heads that they have the right to vote for anybody except the present carpet-baggers, who claim them by the right of first discovery. If any one attempts to bring immigrants into Middle Florida, our carpet-baggers pounce upon him as if he were bringing trespassers on their domain. In proof of this, I refer to my friend, Mr. Rippey, recently from Indiana, who sits here on my right. He attempted to bring in some immigrants not long ago, and the carpet-baggers abused him a great deal more than if they had found him stealing State scrip. I am happy to say, however, that Mr. Rippey persevered, and, in a few months, without a dollar's assistance from the State, brought into Middle Florida more immigrants than were ever brought here by our Bureau of Immigration, although it has spent many thousands of the people's money. Indeed, if the Bureau has ever brought into Middle Florida one immigrant, I have yet to be informed of it.

AGRICULTURAL LAND SCRIP.

A fourth objection to the Republican party grows out of their having wasted our Agricultural Land Scrip. I consider our Agricultural Land Scrip to be as effectually thrown away by the location of the college at Eau Gallie as if Governor Reed had been permitted to get possession of that scrip under the forged act of February 19, 1870. But perhaps some of you don't know anything about that forged act. Everybody ought to know something about it, for it is the only statute that has ever been forged since the world was made. It stands alone in the glory of its villainy. Its history is about this:

Some years ago Congress gave our State about eighty-one thousand dollars worth of land scrip, in order that we might endow a college and educate our children, white as well as black. Eighty-one thousand dollars is a goodly sum, which our carpet-baggers greatly coveted; but it was in Washington, and they were bothered how to get at it. If it had been here in Florida, they are such experts that they would have gobbled it up as easily as they would have wrung the head from the neck of a chicken. But this chicken roosted high—away up in Washington, and at first it bothered them. Such wits as theirs, however, when once on the track of plunder, will not be long at fault. They introduced into the State Senate a bill known on the journals as "Senate Bill No. 113," entitled "An Act relating to the Agricultural Land Scrip." This was a vague title; all I can learn from it is that it related to the land scrip. Exactly *how* it related to the scrip I can judge only from the one that was forged when this one failed to become a law. This bill, entitled "An Act relating to the Agricultural Land Scrip," passed the Senate on the 17th February, 1870. (See Senate Journals of 1870, page 300.) It was then sent to the Assembly, and passed that body on the same day, and was sent back to the Senate. (See Assembly Journals, page 331.) They seemed to be in a hurry about it. Mr. Geo. P. Raney (then representing Franklin county) was not in his seat when this bill passed. I judge so from the fact that he did not vote upon it. But on the next day he was there, and for some reason or other he had a suspicion that all was not right about that bill that had been rushed through in his absence. So the journals, at page 342, say that on the said next day, to wit: the 18th February, 1870, "Mr. Raney moved that the Clerk be requested to ask of the Senate the return to this House of Senate Bill No. 113, which passed this body on yesterday." Mr. Raney's motion was adopted, and the Clerk of the Assembly wrote a note to the President of the Senate informing him that he was "directed by the Assembly to request the Senate to return to the Assembly *for further consideration* Senate Bill No. 113, to be entitled 'An Act relating to the Agricultural Land Scrip.'" On the same day the Secretary of the Senate wrote to "Hon. M. L. Stearns, Speaker of the Assembly," thus: "Sir: I am directed by the Senate to return to the Assembly, at their request, Senate Bill No. 113, for further consideration." (See Assembly Journals, 343). The journals say that this letter was read, "and the bill placed among the orders of the day." (Assembly Journal, page 343.) Afterwards, but on the same day, the journals show that "Mr. Harris moved to reconsider the vote that was taken yesterday, on Senate Bill

No. 113, to be entitled 'An Act relating to the Agricultural Land Scrip.'" (Assembly Journals, page 347). The journals further show that the motion to reconsider was carried, and then they show that "Mr. Walker, of Leon, moved to indefinitely postpone the bill," and that his motion to indefinitely postpone was carried by a vote of 26 to 10. (See Assembly Journals, page 348).

So that bill was finally lost.

On a memorable occasion, when a certain very distinguished personage desired to rule over a happy community by means of fraud, deceit, villainy and violence, he was

> "Hurled headlong from the ethereal sky,
> With hideous ruin and combustion, down
> To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
> In adamantine chains and penal fire."

But even while he

> "Lay vanquished, rolling in the fiery gulf,"

his desire to do wrong did not forsake him, but addressing

> "One next himself in power and next in crime,"

he said—

> ——— "What though the field be lost,
> All is not lost."

And so our carpet-baggers, when they came out second best in the contest over that bill, and lay "vanquished in the fiery gulf" of disappointment, did not lose their desire to do wrong, but exclaimed, as we may well imagine—

> ——— What though that bill be lost!
> All is not lost. Can we not *forge* another?

The feat of forging an act of the Legislature had never been accomplished by mortal man before. But these people are greater than Alexander the Great was. It is said that when he had conquered all the countries in the known world, he sat down and wept because there were no more worlds to conquer. But these carpet-baggers, when they had committed all the villainies in the known world, did not sit down and cry about it, but went to work and invented a new villainy in order that they might commit that. So they invented the crime of forging an act of the Legislature. They would doubtless have given to the forged act the same title which was borne by the bill which had been reconsidered and lost, in order that they might say, if called upon, that they had forgotten it was reconsidered and lost; but that bill was locked up in the safe of a Democratic member, and they could not get at it to see what its title was. So they guessed at it and missed it. The title of the lost bill was, "An Act relating to the Agricultural Land Scrip." The title which they gave to the forged act was, "An Act to authorize the Governor to ask for and receive the Agricultural Land Scrip from the United States." This forged act was signed by the Secretary and President of the Senate and Clerk and Speaker of the Assembly, M. L. Stearns, and then Governor Reed signed it and filed it in the office of the Secretary of State, and it had all the appearances of a regular law, when in truth and in fact it had never been introduced into either branch of the Legislature, had never received a single vote, and no member of the Legislature knew anything about it, except those engaged in the forgery. It was certainly a bold enterprise, but then we must remember that bold men, who called themselves "Christian heroes," and said they came here to "develop" our country and teach us "God and morality," had control of it, and it is no wonder they made it a success.

You are curious to know whether Governor Reed succeeded in drawing the scrip. I will tell you how that was. Governor Reed went to Washington to draw the scrip but was pursued by his own Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Chase, who carried with him the journals and the affidavits of members of the Legislature, and other evidences, showing that said act was a forgery, and when the officers at Washington saw those evidences they refused to allow Governor Reed to draw the scrip.

Any other people on the face of the earth, except our carpet-baggers, would have been so much ashamed at being detected in such an unparalleled piece of rascality that they would have given up all hope of ever getting possession of that scrip; but our carpet-baggers know no such sensation as shame, and with that satanic perseverance in evil-doing, which I have before spoken of, they resolved to try again. They did try again, and this third time were successful. Although the law requires the college to be located in the most central and accessible part of the State, the Radical College Board of Trustees located it away down somewhere in South Florida, at an out of the way and inaccessible place, called Eau Gallie, on some of Gleason's land that he got, I suppose, from the State for nothing, and in this way Gleason and the rest of them have the exclusive enjoyment of said scrip, just as much as if Governor Reed had been allowed to get it under the forged act of February 19, 1870.

Am I asked why I pronounce this a forged act? I will tell you.

1st. Because when the then Republican Attorney-General published this forged act along with the genuine acts of 1870, he published just under this forged act the following words, to wit, (on page 50 of Acts of 1870):

"*Note.*—The above, found in the office of the Secretary of State among the bills passed at the present session, signed by the presiding officers of the Senate and Assembly, the Secretary and Clerk of each respectively, and on February 19 approved by the Governor, is upon these facts inserted. No evidence, however, of its passage in either House, in my opinion, appears in their journals, as required by the constitution to make it a law.—ATTORNEY-GENERAL."

2d. I pronounce said act a forgery because the journals do not show that it was at any time introduced into either branch of the Legislature or read, or referred to any committee, or reported on by any committee, or engrossed or enrolled, or voted upon. No mention whatever is made of it in the journals, except that on page 370 of the Assembly journals, it is recorded that M. L. Stearns, Speaker of the Assembly, signed it on February 19, 1870. It is not mentioned elsewhere in the journals of either House. Like all other bills, it would be mentioned in many places in the journals of both Houses if it had passed through them.

3d. I pronounce it a forgery because Governor Reed never informed either House of the Legislature that he had signed it. Governor Reed signed this act, as its date shows, on the 19th February, 1870, and on that day he informed the Senate that he had signed six other acts and one resolution, giving the title of each, but he did not mention this act nor refer to it, (Senate Journals, 338); and on the same day he informed the Assembly that he had signed three other acts, giving the title of each, but he did not mention this act nor refer to it. If this had been a genuine act I think he would have mentioned it along with the others.

4th. I pronounce this act a forgery because on the day before Governor Reed signed this act he signed one which the Legislature had passed, authorizing eight trustees, whose names are mentioned in the act, to draw this same scrip. The names of the trustees are Wm. J. Keyser, Wm. D. Bloxham, O. Bronson, Chandler H. Smith, John L. Requa, J. H. Roper, C. H. Pearce and C. Thurston Chase. (See page 46 of Acts of 1870.) It is not probable that the Legislature would authorize the above eight trustees to draw the scrip on the 18th February, and then on the very next day authorize the Governor to draw it.

5th. I pronounce this act a forgery because I have been told so by many of the most respectable members of the Legislature of 1870, who were then ready and are now ready if called upon, to swear that this act was never introduced into either House of the Legislature.

6th. I pronounce it a forgery because I have a personal recollection of the sensation which was created when the forgery was discovered. I remember when Mr. Chase went to Washington to prevent Governor Reed from drawing the scrip, for he consulted me in regard to the matter.

7th. I pronounce it a forgery because although from 1870 to the present time it has been denounced as a forgery in the newspapers and on the stump, I have never heard any one express a doubt of its being so. The fact of its being a forgery has gone into history, and I have never failed to give the devil his due, by on all proper occasions vindicating the claims of our carpet-baggers as being superior to the claims of all others in cunning, adroitness and rascality. In proof of this, I will tell you of a conversation that took place in my law office at Tallahassee not long ago.

A very pleasant gentleman from Philadelphia was in my office. He seemed to like me and I liked him. After condoling with me over my hard fate in not having been born in Philadelphia, and in not living there now, he said he hoped I would visit the Centennial and bring with me something distinctively Floridian.—"Bring something," said he, "that belongs exclusively to Florida; something so peculiar to her that no other State will have any thing like it." I laid my hand upon our statute book and said to him: "I have exactly what you want. I have something here so peculiar to Florida that no other State, Kingdom or Empire, ever did or ever will have anything like it. It is a forged act of the Legislature, and is such a splendid illustration of the genius of our carpet-bag rulers that I will have a large number of copies lithographed and handsomely framed and hung up in conspicuous places all over the centennial grounds. It would be a crime against the history of our country not to allow the fame of our carpet-baggers to go down to posterity, with as much renown as that of Judas Iscariot.

FINANCES.

A fifth objection to the Republican party is based on their shameful extravagance and waste of the people's money.

The Conservatives and Democrats were in power in this State during the sixteen years preceding the war, and they conducted the State government at an average cost of only $93,308 a year, although during that time they carried on frequent wars against the Indians. But the Radicals, (according to Mr. Dyke, who takes his figures from official documents,) during the first five and a half years of their reign over us, wasted the people's money at the rate of $586,000 a year, and they did this, although they carried on no war against any one except the constitution and laws of our country, and the peace, quiet, and well-being of the good people of this State; and in addition to this they delivered four millions of State bonds to Littlefield, and in other ways greatly increased our debt.

Our entire State debt, when the Radicals came into power in 1868, including the bonded debt and the floating debt, was, according to Governor Reed in his first message, only $523,856. But on the first of January, 1863, the debt of the State, (according to the recent Address of the Republican Executive Committee,) was 1,900,000. We thus see, adopting to their own statements, that notwithstanding the enormous taxes we had to pay, our debt was increased in five and a half years, $1,377,805, besides the $4,000,000 of Littlefield bonds.

And what have we got for this vast indebtedness? What is there in Radical rule so much better than in Conservative government that we

should pay six times as much for it, besides creating so huge a debt?

Are Reed and Gleason and Day and Hart and Stearns better Governors than Moseley and Brown and Broome and Perry used to be?

Are our Judges now better than they used to be?

Are our Justices of the Peace, County Commissioners, Sheriffs, Clerks and Tax Collectors better than they used to be? Are our schools better than they used to be when the Rev. Mr. Duncan was our Superintendent?

During the sixteen years we were in power we built railroads from Jacksonville to Quincy, and from Fernandina to Cedar Keys, without subjecting the people to one dollar of taxation. Have the Radicals built any railroads? With four millions of State bonds in their pockets, behold the eighteen miles of railroad between Quincy and the Chattahoochee river, and then ask Mr. Gibbs, who stands before me, if he has not had to sell those eighteen miles to pay himself for building them because the Radicals would not pay him?

Have they given us any better religion or morality? Behold irreligion and immorality holding high carnival all over the land?

Have they given us any greater wealth or prosperity? Behold our fenceless fields growing up in briars and broom-sedge, and reduced to one-third of their former values, while the wolf of starvation stands howling at the doors of thousands of our laborers, because the money their employers used to pay to them now goes as taxes into the pockets of our rulers.

Have they given prosperity to our colored people? Behold the seventy thousand colored men in the South who have been swindled out of three millions of dollars through the rascality of the carpet-baggers in the management of the Freedman's Bank. Behold the disappearance of a hundred thousand dollars from the Bank at Jacksonville, and tell me into whose pockets it has gone.

Have they given us high tone and character in official life? Behold Belknap; Behold Babcock; Behold Harrington; Behold ——. But, gentlemen, my eyes now behold a sight far more pleasant than those to which I have been directing yours. I behold coming into the Convention the delegation from Key West, and as we have much important business yet to transact, I will leave unsaid the balance of what I have to say, and close by asking you to join me in three rousing cheers for

The Key of the Gulf, the gem of the sea,
The land of the brave and the home of the free.

Three cheers were then given with a hearty good will, and Governor Walker resumed his seat.

DEMOCRATIC AND CONSERVATIVE STATE PLATFORM,

Adopted at Quincy June 8, 1876.

The Conservative and Democratic party of the State of Florida, in convention assembled, arraign the Radical party, which has had uninterrupted control of the general government for the last ten years, for having brought the government, as well as the individual citizen, to the verge of bankruptcy, destroyed our commerce, fettered the industries of the people, squandered the public money and the public lands, multiplied public offices for party ends, demoralized and debauched the government service to an unprecedented extent, culminating in the present administration, the most disgraceful to American history. They arraign the State Government for the corruption, oppression and extravagance, for its reckless disregard of the rights of the people, for administering the government as if created for the benefit of the rulers and not of the people. For these and other considerations, we pledge ourselves to work unceasingly and earnestly for the overthrow of this party in power, and we cordially invite the co-operation of honest men of all shades of political opinion to unite with us equally in sustaining and enforcing the following principles:

1. Fidelity to the Constitution and its amendments.

2. Retrenchment and economy in Federal and State administration.

3. Lessening the burdens of labor by a reduction of taxes and offices.

4. Free schools, exempt from all sectarian control.

5. Opposition to centralization as well as Federal interference with local government.

6. Exposure and punishment of corruption in officials.

7. Equal rights, justice to all, without distinction of race or sectional residence, and a hearty and cordial welcome to immigrants from all sections.

The Figures that Prove the Election of Tilden and Hendricks.

Editor Republican:

I claim that the nomination of Tilden by the Democracy insures the success of our ticket beyond a peradventure! I claim that the Democrats will certainly carry thirteen of the Southern and six of the Northern States, giving them more than a majority of the entire electoral vote, without counting Indiana, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, Nevada or Colorado! I claim that, in addition to the six States justmentioned, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts and New Hampshire are "doubtful" States!

I predict that from the memorable 28th of June, 1876, up to election day, the strength of the Democratic column will be constantly augmenting by accessions from the ranks of Republicans; and that the probabilities warrant the assertion that Tilden will receive the largest popular vote ever given to any President, and approximating four millions!

I assert that Tilden's name secures us a very large majority of the German vote, Carl Schurz and the *Westliche Post* to the contrary notwithstanding.

Finally, I claim that the young men of these United States, almost without regard to their previous political affiliations, will heartily unite in the support of our Centennial Reform Ticket, and that, long before next November, the grand old National Democratic party will be a unit in its support; that all which was attempted by the Cincinnati convention of 1872, and *more* than was ever promised or expected in the event of the election of Charles Francis Adams or Horace Greeley, may now be confidently anticipated by the good people of this American Union, as the fair and legimate result of the election of Samuel J. Tilden.

I invite the calm and impartial scrutiny of honest Republicans to the present status and past political history of the list of States given below, and challenge investigation of the tabular statement herewith appended:

States.	Democratic.	Republican.	Doubtful.
New York	35	....	....
Pennsylvania	....	....	29
Ohio	....	22	....
Illinois	....	....	21
Missouri	15	....	....
Indiana	....	....	15
Massachusetts	....	....	13
Kentucky	12	....	....
Tennessee	12	....	....
Virginia	11	....	....
Georgia	11	....	....
Michigan	....	11	....
Iowa	....	11	....
Wisconsin	10	....	....
North Carolina	10	....	....
Alabama	10	....	....
New Jersey	9	....	....
Maryland	8	....	....
Mississippi	8	....	....
Louisiana	....	....	8
Texas	8	....	....
Maine	....	7	....
South Carolina	....	7	....
Connecticut	6	....	....
Arkansas	6	....	....
California	6	....	....
West Virginia	5	....	....
New Hampshire	....	....	5
Vermont	....	5	....
Minnesota	....	5	....
Kansas	....	5	....
Florida	4	....	....
Rhode Island	....	4	....
Delaware	3	....	....
Oregon	3	....	....
Nevada	....	....	3
Nebraska	....	3	....
Colorado	....	....	3
Total	192	80	97

Necessary to elect, 185.

ALBERT WARREN KELSEY.

ST. LOUIS, June 30, 1876.

Editor Republican:

For the consideration of the Democracy of the State of Indiana, I give my views of the chances of the two candidates for President.

TILDEN.		HAYES.	
Alabama	10	Indiana	15
Arkansas	6	Illinois	21
California	6	Iowa	11
Connecticut	6	Kansas	5
Delaware	3	Maine	7
Florida	4	Massachusetts	13
Georgia	11	Michigan	11
Kentucky	12	Minnesota	5
Louisiana	8	Nebraska	3
Maryland	8	New Hampshire	5
Mississippi	8	Ohio	22
Missouri	15	Pennsylvania	29
New Jersey	9	Rhode Island	4
New York	35	South Carolina	7
North Carolina	10	Vermont	5
Oregon	3	Wisconsin	10
Tennessee	12		
Texas	8		
Virginia	11		
West Virginia	5		
Total	190	Total	173

Doubtful—Colorado, 3; Nevada, 3. Necessary to choice, 185. Yours, &c., ASH.